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DECEMBER MEETING, 1883.

The monthly meeting was held in the Dowse Library on Thursday afternoon, the 13th instant; the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP occupying the chair.

The record of the previous meeting was read by the Secretary and was approved.

The donations to the Library for the past month were reported by the Librarian.

The PRESIDENT then spoke as follows:—

I was congratulating you, Gentlemen, at our last meeting, that with the great celebration at Newburgh the series of Revolutionary Centennials had come to an end. But I reckoned without my host. Only a day or two later an invitation came for the Society as well as myself to attend the ceremonies on the one hundredth anniversary of the evacuation of New York. As that anniversary came upon Sunday, the celebration was held on the 26th of November, and seems to have been the occasion of as brilliant and imposing a spectacle as the unfortunate weather would allow. I returned to the Committee a grateful acknowledgment of the invitation with which we were favored, and I now present the letter to be placed on our files.

Meeting our associate and friend, Mr. Robert Bennett Forbes, casually in a horse-car a few days ago, he mentioned that he had applied to our Librarian for the loan of the model, given by himself to our Cabinet some years ago, of the "Midas,"—the first American steamer which passed the Cape of Good Hope,—for the purpose of illustrating a lecture which he is to deliver to-morrow evening at the Institute of Technology. I found yesterday that Dr. Green had already taken the responsibility of complying with the request of Mr. Forbes, and I am sure we shall all sanction the loan. Our friend, Mr. Forbes, in his seventy-ninth year, is still a leading authority on all matters relating to ships and navigation, whether by wind or steam. He reminded me that forty years ago he was laughed at by old salts for predicting that propellers, at no distant day, would altogether supersede side-wheels in steamers, as they have done. His earnest advocacy of iron carriages for cannon, though at first derided, has also everywhere prevailed. I may be

allowed to recall his great service in carrying corn to Ireland, in the famine there of 1847, in command of the "James-town;" and I may be pardoned for not forgetting that it was my privilege, as a member of Congress, to be mainly instrumental in securing for him the use of that United States vessel for his philanthropic purpose. His lecture is on "The Rig of Ships, and matters relating to them;" and he invites the members of our Society to come and hear him.

I have received, from different sources, two copies of an interesting pamphlet entitled "Education in South Carolina prior to and during the Revolution." One of the copies I am glad to deposit in our Library. Perhaps there is a copy here already; but Dr. Green knows what to do with a duplicate or even a triplicate.

It is a paper read before the Historical Society of South Carolina, last August, by General Edward McCrady, Jr., and published by the Society. It was called forth by some passages in the "History of the People of the United States," by John Bach McMaster. This History, as we all know, is not a Massachusetts work. It comes from New York or Princeton; and we have certainly no share in the responsibility of its alleged misstatements in regard to education in South Carolina a hundred years ago.

The author of the paper would seem almost to make the controversy a matter between South Carolina and Massachusetts, and occasionally indulges in a strain which partakes of the old sectional spirit, which we heartily hope has almost passed away. In the comparison which he institutes between South Carolina and Massachusetts, he speaks more than once of Massachusetts being "settled in 1607," and of "the Colony of Massachusetts established about 1607." He has been misled by the date of the Jamestown Colony. Plymouth and Massachusetts, as we all remember, were not settled until 1620 and 1630.

But the paper is one of much interest, and presents a valuable record of the schools and the libraries and the literary culture of South Carolina at that early period of her history. It unquestionably exhibits a very different picture from that of Mr. McMaster's History. It abounds, too, in welcome reminiscences of the great men of Carolina — the Rutledges and Pinckneys and Middletons and Gadsdens and Laurenses — of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. We readily concur in the passage quoted from Dr. Ramsay's History of South Carolina in 1808, in which he says, "With the exception of Virginia, no State in the Union has obtained

a greater or even an equal proportion of national honors." And we accept Dr. Ramsay's reason: "This was in some degree the consequence of the attention paid by the earlier settlers of Carolina to the liberal education of their children."

Let me not conclude this brief allusion to General McCrady's paper, without referring to the interest of the appendix, which contains a letter from Dr. Gabriel E. Manigault, President of the Carolina Art Association, giving a list of the London artists who were employed to paint portraits during the last century by South Carolinians who were in England for educational or other purposes. This list contains two portraits by Allan Ramsay, one by Zoffany, one by Sir Joshua Reynolds, three by Benjamin West, one by Romney, one by Gainsborough, seven by Copley, and two by Gilbert Stuart while he was in London. The letter of Dr. Manigault states the subjects of these portraits, and tells what has become of them. It is a valuable contribution to art history, and might help our associate Mr. Augustus Perkins in completing the catalogue of Copley's portraits.

Finally, I take pleasure in laying on the table, agreeably to the request accompanying it, a prospectus of a new Historical Society, called "The Oxford Historical Society," just instituted at Oxford University, and founded on the principles suggested by our late Corresponding Member, the lamented John Richard Green. The prospectus gives a large view, extending over many pages, of the wealth of material awaiting publication by this Society. Early Oxford, from 912 to 1216; Mediæval Oxford, from 1216 to 1485; Oxford under the Tudors, from 1485 to 1603; Oxford under the early Stuarts and during the Commonwealth, from 1603 to 1660; Oxford under the later Stuarts, from 1661 to the death of Queen Anne, 1714; the Georgian Oxford, from 1714 to 1830; and the Modern Oxford, from 1830,—make up together a wide field of research and labor which cannot fail to bring forth most interesting and valuable fruits. The Society contemplates no mere academic or local history. The prospectus truly says that "in Oxford there is probably more concentration of historical interest, and that of no insignificant kind, than in any spot of similar size in the British Isles." But I leave the prospectus to speak for itself, with its appended invitation to membership by an annual payment of one guinea.

I observe the names of Froude and Freeman and S. R. Gardiner, with that of Matthew Arnold also, on the list of

the Council. And there is another name on the list, marked with a printer's dagger to indicate "assent not yet obtained," which has a special interest for us this afternoon, — the name of one of our foreign Corresponding Members who is present with us and whom we are glad to recognize, — Professor Bryce, the author of "The Holy Roman Empire," and now a member of Parliament. At a later stage of our Proceedings I hope we may hear as well as see him. Meantime, I turn for a moment to a more serious communication.

Since I came to these rooms this afternoon, I have learned that another of our venerable associates has suddenly passed away, and I am called on to announce the death of the Rev. William S. Bartlet, A.M., of Chelsea, whom we have so long been accustomed to see, day by day, in the quiet enjoyment of our Library. He has been well known as a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was successively the rector of churches in New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, and Registrar of the Diocese of the latter State. His principal contribution to history was a Memoir of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, published under the title of "The Frontier Missionary," in 1853, — a work which received high commendations at the time. He has also contributed historical papers to several periodicals, and to the Memorial of the late Bishop Burgess of Maine. Born at Newburyport, April 8, 1809, he has died in his seventy-fifth year.

I am instructed by the Council to submit the following Resolution: —

Resolved, That we have heard with regret that the Rev. William S. Bartlet, our associate for twenty-five years, died yesterday after a brief illness, and that the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter be requested to prepare the customary memoir for our Proceedings.

Mr. DEANE then read the following communication from the Hon. Peleg W. Chandler in regard to the witchcraft trials in 1692: —

Since my letter of August 24 to Mr. Deane,* I have seen the full text of Mr. Goodell's ingenious argument in relation to the proceedings in 1692, and now refer to the subject because I am more than ever convinced that the heretofore

* September meeting, *ante*, p. 327, ff. — Eds.

universal denial by historians of the legality of the special court held at Salem for the witchcraft business is sound. At the same time some of the interesting documentary evidence so industrially sought out and submitted, requires a brief comment, notably that relating to the actual practice, for a brief period, of erecting tribunals of oyer and terminer by the governor and council.

It appears from the records referred to by Mr. Goodell, that from 1692 to 1713 — about twenty years — commissions of this sort were issued, when the legislature passed an Act for holding special courts of assize and general gaol delivery, after which “no commission of oyer and terminer seems to have been issued without the concurrence of the General Court.” That is, for a short time the governor and council assumed a power which was effectually taken from them, and they never exercised it solely afterwards. This fact standing alone would seem to show that the exercise of this power at all by the governor and council was an error which was effectually cured by the General Court. Besides, the previous action of the governor and council amounts to very little as a precedent. It is safe to admit that they *thought* they had the power by the charter. The question is, not what power they supposed the charter conferred, but what it actually did confer. On this point their opinion is not so valuable as that of well-trained lawyers and historians of a later period, who were not affected by the passions and prejudices of the crew that got possession of Governor Phips as soon as he arrived with the charter, and held their influence in public affairs for a generation. The charter was a grant, and is to be construed according to well-established rules of legal interpretation, one of which is that the instrument must be considered as a whole in order to ascertain the meaning of particular clauses, and another is that it must be construed strictly. There is no room here for implications or latitudinarian construction; and when a member of the Society at the September meeting stated that “Dr. Palfrey and others had been misled by their warm attachment to republican and American ideas,” and further remarked that “the charter was intended, doubtless, to produce a kind of reflection of the English Constitution, — the General Court reflecting Parliament, and the governor and council representing the king in council,” — “and even if the charter gave co-ordinate power to the General Court to appoint the regular tribunals, no publicist of William and Mary’s reign could imagine it took away from the king, or his deputy, his undoubted prerogative of appointing spe-

cial commissions of oyer and terminer when needed," — we seem to be floating off into the region of unsafe speculation. When the rights of private parties are affected by a grant, the situation of the parties, contemporaneous facts and proceedings of those interested, may be useful in ascertaining the actual intent of the document; but the historian, in deciding whether there was usurpation of powers and abuse of authority, looks deeper, and his real ability and usefulness are shown in clearing away the decisions and explaining the proceedings of men who acted under temporary influences and interested feelings. The real question here is, what powers were actually given and how they were distributed; and the historian of to-day is more competent to decide it than men nearer the exciting events which threw a shadow over the whole subject. The structure and proceedings of English tribunals at that day are of less consequence than they seem to be at first glance. In one view the peculiar characteristics of the English tribunals are wholly immaterial. These were very numerous. The origin of some of them is obscure. There are pages, and indeed volumes, of curious learning on this subject; and one thing is very clear, that, by means of some of these tribunals, the powers of prerogative were enlarged to a great extent, and the hand of the sovereign was heavily felt in unwarranted encroachments on popular rights under the forms of legal proceedings. Indeed, the English courts have at times been the cruel inquisition by means of which great wrongs have been perpetrated, and in no tribunals were these unjust and cruel acts more feasible than in the courts of oyer and terminer, where the king could select the commissioners and the time and place of trial, by which, under the specious pretence of tenderness for the accused, the proceedings could be hurried up when the thirst for blood and the cry for revenge were fierce, and sometimes even when popular clamor called for victims.

There could be no better example of all this than in these trials at Salem. When Phips arrived with the charter, the excitement was at its greatest height. Some of the people, led on by influential citizens, were clamoring for blood. The governor fell into the hands of these men completely; and, without waiting for the General Court to assemble, the proceedings were urged forward with such deplorable results.

Now, it is impossible to examine the charter without seeing that it was in advance of the English laws as to the establishment of courts. Here was virgin soil. Here it was possible to erect tribunals of justice which should conserve the just

rights of power, and also protect the liberties of the subject. It made a complete separation between (1) the establishment of courts and (2) the appointment of judges. The legislature was to establish and the governor and council were to appoint.

But, according to the doctrine now advanced, the whole system was faulty and could be upset; for although the courts must be erected by the legislature, the governor and council could, by means of an old-fashioned writ, set up a court anywhere, at any time, with judges of their own selection, who, by the way, at Salem were every one of them taken from their own number, — a lot of ministers, doctors and traders, some of whom may have had a slight theoretical knowledge of law, but were as unfit for its application as a parcel of old women at a sewing-circle. They doubtless learned something of the laws of evidence in after years, but it was when the victims of their ignorance were beyond recall.

The charter expressly provided that the great and general court "shall forever have full power and authority to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record or other courts." The question is whether Oyer and Terminer is a court or judicature. Blackstone carefully enumerates the English courts: —

- " (1) The high Court of Parliament.
- " (2) The Court of the Lord High Stewart of Great Britain.
- " (3) The Court of King's Bench.
- " (4) The Court of Chancery.
- " (5) The high Court of Admiralty.
- " (6) *The Court of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery, which is held before the King's Commissioners, among whom are usually two judges of the Courts at Westminster,*" &c.

This was in England; and the charter provides that in Massachusetts this court, like all others, should be established, if at all, by the Great and General Court, and that the judges or commissioners of this court when established should be appointed by the governor and council. And although for a short time, in a period of great excitement, the governor and council usurped the whole power, the time of this delusion, like that of witchcraft, was short. The Great and General Court bounced this tribunal within a year, and finally passed an Act rendering any such future abuse of power impossible.

It is said that the governor and council were authorized by the charter to appoint justices of the peace as well as

commissioners of oyer and terminer; but justices of the peace were not courts. They were a peculiar class, denominated in the text-books "subordinate magistrates," like sheriffs and coroners. Their duties at that time in England were well understood and, indeed, mainly defined by statute.* "The office of justice of the peace was introduced by our forefathers at their migration; and in all particulars then applicable, or which have since become applicable, to this jurisdiction, may be considered as possessing here the general character and functions allowed to it in England, by force of the statutes which had there created and regulated this ancient and important office. After its introduction, the office became of course a subject of legislation here, and at an early period subsequent to the charter of William and Mary, the form of an oath to be administered to justices of the peace was appointed." †

When, therefore, the charter authorized the appointment of justices of the peace, they may have had rights and duties under the common law; but it is certain that their duties were afterwards effectively regulated by statute, and it is the better opinion that they are now wholly so regulated and defined. ‡

It is not easy to see how this matter seriously affects the point we are considering. Suppose justices of the peace could have been appointed by the governor and council under the charter, and suppose they could, by virtue of their commission, have exercised authority in preserving the peace and even hold courts, it does by no means follow that commissioners of oyer and terminer could be so appointed until such a court had been constituted by the only power authorized to erect legal tribunals, namely, the Great and General Court.

This matter of the illegality of the tribunal at Salem in 1692 cuts deeper than I supposed when the discussion commenced; for if that tribunal, contrary to the opinion of almost all the historians who have considered it, was properly constituted, then the Commonwealth must bear an additional burden. Now, a clear distinction ought always to be made between the *general belief in witchcraft* in this Commonwealth in 1692, and the *method of treating it*. Doubtless the people in general were not wiser than their age in this respect, and

* 1 Edw. III. ch. 16, and 34 Edw. III. ch. 1.

† Commonwealth vs. Foster, 1 Mass. 489.

‡ See Knowles vs. Davis, 2 Allen, 64.

did believe in witchcraft and in its punishment as a crime and a sin. But the people concerned in the actual proceedings at Salem were very few. The chief instigators and promoters were Stoughton and the crew who acted with him in the council and on the trials. He was the lieutenant-governor, and he and the other judges were members of the council, and really established the court at Salem, and, in effect, appointed themselves judges by acting on their own nomination.* That the people in general favored this court, or believed in its legality, there is no proof.† On the contrary, their feelings were well expressed in the touching exclamation of Brattle, who wrote that the only relief from these sorrows was in the Great and General Court. "Our hopes," he adds, "are here. The representatives of the people must stay the evil," or "New England is undone and undone."

The General Court did "stay the evil" in a most effectual manner by abolishing the court of oyer and terminer.

Of Stoughton himself I desire to quote a few trenchant lines of Mr. Quincy : ‡—

"If it were possible, it would be grateful to throw the mantle of oblivion over the part acted by Stoughton in that tragedy. But the stern law of history does not permit. . . . There is no class of public men towards whom history should be more inexorably severe than to those who through fear, passion, or policy lend themselves to popular excitements, and become panders, or instruments of gross desires, wayward humors, or furious rage of a multitude. On no individual does the sad consummation of that excitement rest more heavily than on William Stoughton."

Mr. YOUNG presented to the Society, from Mr. G. F. B. Leighton, of Norfolk, Virginia, papers giving the names of

* An argument might be made that this very act of *appointing themselves* as they effectually did, was in itself an illegal act, and that their commissions were void.

† "The delusion of the multitude is never general or violent, unless those who are their natural or assumed leaders countenance or encourage it. Nor ought human agents to be permitted to evade just responsibility, under pretence of supernatural suggestions and impulses." — QUINCY'S *History of Harvard College*, vol. i. p. 64.

‡ Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178. A member of the Society at the September meeting stated that old Stoughton Hall was destroyed long ago, and that the present building is a modern structure. This is familiar history, and the fact was stated in the "Criminal Trials" forty years ago (vol. i. appendix, p. 420). The old building was taken down in 1780, "being an unsubstantial piece of masonry." In 1806 a substantial brick building was erected, and the name Stoughton given to it, although at that time his real character could have been better appreciated than when he erected the first hall.

officers in Colonel Ebenezer Francis's * regiment, which was stationed at Dorchester Heights, Nov. 4, 1776 ; also the payroll of the men who were in Captain Samuel Leighton's company, and their receipt for guns, blankets, money and rations for travel to their respective homes. The original commission of Captain Leighton, dated Watertown, April 29, 1776, and signed by James Otis, J. Winthrop, B. Lincoln, and others who constituted the Major Part of the Council of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, was included among these papers. There was likewise a list of directions for administering medicines for the small-pox, dated Kittery, April 23, 1778.

Mr. YOUNG then read a letter from Mr. William C. Todd, of Newburyport, which enclosed for the Society a piece of wood from the house in which Luther was born, which in 1868 was repaired by order of the Emperor.

On motion of Dr. ELLIS, the thanks of the Society were given to Dr. Hedge for his excellent address on Luther ; and, on motion of Mr. YOUNG, thanks were given to the Proprietors of Arlington Street Church for the use of their church edifice, and to the members of the choir for their services at the commemoration.

The President then called upon Professor James Bryce, a member of Parliament from the Tower Hamlets of London, who was present as a foreign Corresponding Member of this Society. Professor Bryce acknowledged the honor of his election as Corresponding Member, and said that the sympathy of Americans was fully appreciated by English historical scholars ; and he thought that it had a healthy influence, since it rendered them less insular, and gave them a larger outlook, so that they wrote for a more cosmopolitan circle of readers. He remarked that he had visited all the States in the Union but two, and all the Territories except Alaska, and that he had been surprised to see the interest taken in historical study where he least expected to find it.

Dr. ELLIS mentioned certain investigations which he had caused to be set on foot in England with a view to ascertaining something with regard to the pedigree and birthplace of John Harvard. Further remarks in relation to this subject

* Colonel Francis was killed at the battle of Hubbardton, Vermont, in 1777. His watch, which was found on his person, is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See " Travels through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters by an Officer [Thomas Anburey], London, 1789," vol. ii. pp. 208-210. Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 148. — Eds.

were made by Messrs. Porter, Winthrop, jr., Everett, T. C. Amory, and the President.

Mr. HASSAM then exhibited a copy of a map, which he described as follows:—

I have just received from Mr. Henry F. Waters, now of London, a photographic copy of a map in the British Museum. It shows a part of the Carolina coast and the Cape Fear River, and its title is: "Discovery made by William Hilton of Charles towne In New England Marriner from Cape Hatterask Lat: 35: 30'. to y^e west of Cape Roman in Lat: 32. 30' In y^e yeare 1662 And layd Down in the forme as you see by Nicholas Shapley of the town aforesaid November 1662."

William Hilton, of Charlestown, was brought, when a child, from London to Plymouth in New England in the "Anne" in 1623. His father, William Hilton the elder, had preceded him in the "Fortune" in 1621. They afterward went to the settlements on the Piscataqua River. The father died in York, Maine, in 1655 or 1656. The son was an early settler of Newbury, but removed to Charlestown, where he died in 1675.

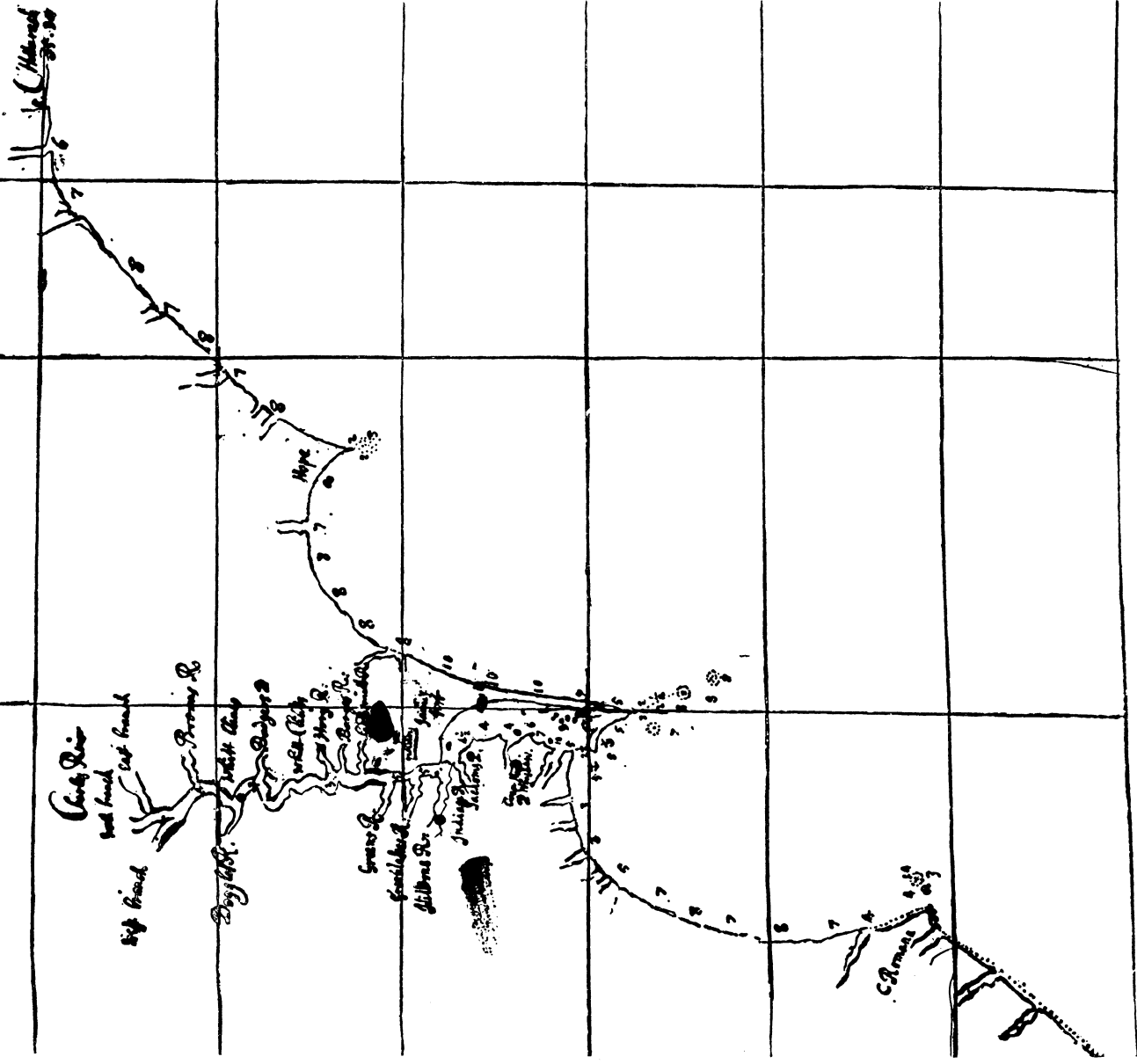
Nicholas Shapleigh was probably the Nicholas Shapleigh who was chosen clerk of the writs in Charlestown in 1662. He made this map in November, 1662, and died in Charlestown in the following February.

In Force's Historical Tracts, vol. iv., there is a reprint of a "Relation of A Discovery" made on the coast of Florida in 1663 by William Hilton, commander of the ship Adventure, which set sail from Spikes Bay in August of that year, and was "set forth by several Gentlemen and Merchants of the Island of Barbadoes." This tract was published in London in 1664. Mr. Savage, in referring to it, says that this William Hilton was probably not of New England origin, and that Budington, in his History of the First Church, Charlestown, was mistaken in supposing him to be the William Hilton of Charlestown. But this map is evidence tending to show that Mr. Savage was wrong and Budington right, and that these two William Hiltons were one and the same person.

This is the map mentioned by the Rev. B. F. DeCosta in the Magazine of American History for January, 1877. So far as I know, he is the only writer who has ever seen it. This copy is reduced to about one half the size of the original.

Mr. C. C. SMITH communicated a memoir which he had prepared of the late Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins.

Showing route by which Miller of Curtis house, in New England Maine,
 from Cape Hatteras, La. 35:30' - to 5' north of Cape Romain in La. 32:30' to 3' from old
 old Cape Romain in the form of open sea by a direct supply of the town of New Orleans 1845



MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

THE record of himself which Chandler Robbins wrote in the College Class Book, in 1829, is very brief, and is as follows: "Was born in Lynn, Mass., A.D. 1810, Feb. 14th. Shall probably study Divinity." He was the second son of Dr. Peter Gilman Robbins, who was in early life a physician at Lynn, and afterward removed to Roxbury, where he died in 1852. His mother's maiden name was Abba Dowse. She was the second daughter of Samuel Dowse, of Charlestown, and is said to have been "a lady of rare personal beauty, of great dignity and grace of manner, of a sweet disposition and clear and cultivated mind," — characteristics also very noticeable in the son. Before her marriage she was a teacher in the girls' department of the Franklin Academy at Andover. She died in March, 1812, at the age of twenty-six, leaving two sons, — Chandler Robbins and a younger brother, Samuel Dowse Robbins, — both of whom became ministers. Their grandfather was the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., minister of the First Church in Plymouth, and their great-grandfather was the Rev. Philemon Robbins, of Branford in Connecticut.

The subject of this memoir pursued his early studies with the Rev. Dr. Thayer at Lancaster, the Rev. Mr. Colman at Hingham, and at several private schools, the last of which was the school at Wiscasset, Maine, taught by the Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D.D. He also received private instruction at Roxbury, from Edward Bliss Emerson. In 1825 he entered Harvard College, and graduated with good rank in the remarkable class of 1829. At college he had few intimates; but he secured the esteem of all who knew him, and kept it under very trying circumstances. Early in the freshman year there were various acts of insubordination in the class, which finally led to the expulsion of one of the members, who it was

generally thought by his classmates had been betrayed by one of their own number. They were indignant at what they regarded as treachery; and the great majority, writes one of the surviving members of the class, "demanded that the offender be wholly cut off from society or notice,—that no one of the class should even *speak* to him, on pain of having to submit to a like exclusion himself." Robbins was conspicuous among the few who would not yield to these extreme demands, though it seemed pretty sure, at first, that his course would "place him in the same category of practical banishment with the proscribed one." The class, however, soon became aware that his position was not meant as a defiance, and he did not lose their respect and sympathy. In this steadfast adherence by the boy of fifteen or sixteen to what he thought was right, it is easy to discover traits of character which he exhibited all through life.

His scholarship in all branches was good, and his college rank high; but he specially excelled as a writer and speaker. His part at Commencement was a forensic with the late Joel Giles on the question "Whether the Inequalities of Genius in different Countries be owing to Moral Causes." Dr. Pierce, who heard it, wrote in his manuscript journal in possession of the Historical Society: "The forensic between Giles and Robbins was ably handled by both parties. The latter was the best speaker who exhibited in his class." After dining with the alumni, Dr. Pierce "visited the company of Robbins in Porter's tavern," at North Cambridge, and of two other graduates in Holworthy.

After graduating, young Robbins entered the Theological School in Cambridge; but at the close of his first year he left, and became an usher in the Public Latin School in Boston. Here he remained a year, and then returning to Cambridge resumed his connection with the Divinity School. In 1833 he graduated with four of his college classmates. The subject of his dissertation was, "Wherein consists the Strength of the Evidence for the Divine Origin of Christianity." Dr. Pierce again thought him the best speaker in the class; but he noted that Mr. Robbins "appeared to undervalue existing evidences of Christianity, and confidently to anticipate better."

His first sermon after leaving the School was in the Brattle Street Church, in Boston, the pulpit of which was then vacant; and soon afterward he preached in the Second Church. In October he received a unanimous call to become the minister of that church, as successor to Ralph Waldo Emerson, with a salary of \$1,600 a year. He was ordained on the 4th

of December, 1833. The sermon was preached by his predecessor, Professor Henry Ware, Jr.; the charge was by the Rev. Dr. Kendall, his grandfather's successor in the church at Plymouth; and the ordaining prayer, by his early teacher, Dr. Packard, for whom he retained a special regard. After the services the ordaining council and many of the society dined together in Concert Hall. Dr. Pierce, who counted this as the ninety-seventh ordination which he had attended, — sixty-four in the country and thirty-three in the city, — writes in his journal: "The dinner was sumptuous; but it was the first ordination I ever attended where there was no wine, nor even cider, nor indeed anything to drink but water; excepting that in the midst of dinner coffee was served round to such as desired it. This was a glorious example, which I pray God may be universally imitated." A few days after entering on his new duties, — December 12th, — Mr. Robbins was married to Mary Eliza, daughter of Samuel Frothingham, of Boston.

Mr. Robbins had a long and eventful ministry. Though he was minister of only one church, he preached in five successive church edifices and in four temporary places of worship. No other minister in Boston has ever had a similar experience. At the end of his first year his salary was increased to \$1,800. Two years later it was raised to \$2,000. In 1854 it was made \$2,500. Three years afterward it was raised to \$3,000. Finally, in 1865, at the close of the war of the Rebellion, it was made \$3,500. These figures are of interest, as showing to what extent the habits of the community changed and the cost of living increased with the growth of the city, and as indicative of the estimate which the proprietors of the church placed on the value of his labors among them. His ministry began under very favorable auspices, and for ten years the society enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. At the annual meeting in 1841, "the treasurer congratulated the proprietors upon the general prosperity of the society for the past year, alluding more particularly to the popularity of the pastor." And in his last sermon preached in the old meeting-house, Mr. Robbins was able to say: —

"We have passed together through changeful times, through various periods of great and wide-spread excitement, through powerful agitations of opinion; whilst within the borders of our own little community, we have been blessed with uninterrupted peace, and hardly a single momentary jar has invaded our sabbath home. All our concerns have been managed with commendable fidelity and wisdom on

the part of those who have been intrusted with their charge. The number of our proprietors and worshippers has increased. Accessions to the church have been recently greatly multiplied. New manifestations of social feeling and of spiritual life have strengthened our union and refreshed our hearts."

This was in March, 1844. For several years there had been a growing belief that it was expedient to erect a new house of worship. Serious differences of opinion, however, existed among the proprietors as to the best site for the new building. The question was finally set at rest, in the latter part of 1843, by the passage of a vote to take down the old meeting-house and to rebuild on the same site. The result showed that this was an unwise decision. The drift of the population away from the North End had already begun; the new church — the most beautiful church edifice built in Boston up to that time — cost more than twice the sum originally voted by the proprietors; and a heavy debt was incurred. The new building was dedicated on the 17th of September, 1845; and in the next two or three years various unsuccessful attempts were made to extinguish the debt by a voluntary subscription, an assessment on the pews, or by some other method. At length more than eighty of the proprietors surrendered their pews to relieve themselves from further liability; and they were reduced from one hundred and seven in number to about twenty. In June, 1848, Mr. Robbins tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and at the same time a vote was passed to close the building. But availing himself of a distinction familiar to every one in the early years of the schism which divided the great Congregationalist body into two distinct parts, he still retained his connection with the communicants, known to New England usage as "the church," and religious services were continued elsewhere without interruption. Subsequently the edifice was sold to the First Methodist Episcopal Church for less than two-thirds of its original cost; and in 1871 it was demolished in consequence of the widening of Hanover Street.

Meanwhile the Chapel in Freeman Place was purchased from the Church of the Disciples by members of the society who had accompanied Mr. Robbins, and was offered to the proprietors of the old church free from any liability on their part. This offer was accepted; and in December, 1850, it was

"*Voted*, That the Second Church resume public worship forthwith in the house recently contracted for in Freeman Place, and that the Rev. Chandler Robbins be invited to renew his connection with us and take the pastoral charge of the same."

After this reunion the society, though much weakened, began to prosper. Meanwhile, in the summer of 1852, Mr. Robbins had an attack of typhoid fever which lasted two months, and left him with some trouble of the lungs. Once before, in 1839, in the early years of his ministry, he had been obliged to go abroad on account of impaired health. He now passed the first two months of 1853 in South Carolina; but after returning home in March he had a relapse, and on the first of May he again sailed for Europe, where he spent three or four months in travelling in England, Scotland, Ireland, and France.

Shortly after his return negotiations were opened for the purchase of the church edifice in Bedford Street, belonging to the Church of the Saviour, and for the union of that society with the Second Church. By this arrangement, which was completed in the early part of 1854, Mr. Robbins once more became the minister of a strong and active congregation. Three years after the completion of this union the Standing Committee wrote in their report to the proprietors: —

“In reviewing the past three years we have much cause for gratitude, and may now congratulate ourselves upon being one of the strongest societies of the city. Three years ago there may have been misgivings as to our success, — it was a problem whether the people of the two congregations would mingle together in such a manner as to make a united society. The result has exceeded our anticipations. We are daily growing in numbers, and in sympathy and regard for each other.”

But after ten or fifteen years, the continued drift of the population toward the southern and western parts of the city, which made the location of the church inconvenient to a large part of the congregation; the death of many of the older members, whose places were not filled by new-comers; and the removal or withdrawal of others, from one or another cause, showed their effects on the society in a gradual and steady decline from this prosperous condition. In 1862 the chapel adjoining the church was partially burned; and in 1868 it was entirely removed, in consequence of the opening of Avon Street. Meanwhile the erection of a large and high building on an adjacent estate greatly obstructed the light, and rendered the interior of the building gloomy and unattractive; and various plans were suggested to remedy the difficulty. At the same time there was a growing feeling that it would be expedient to rebuild in some more favorable locality. In 1869 the Standing Committee, after stating that there

were seventy-nine proprietors and that only two pews had been purchased while several had been given up during the year, expressed the opinion that "a removal seems to be only a question of time, unless we are willing to let the fire upon our altar go out, and the church as an independent organization become extinct." A year later they reported : —

"The experience of the past year adds force to the conclusion we arrived at at its commencement, that it is vital to the permanent interest of the society that a change should be made in its location. A gradual decrease in the congregation is going on ; no new families are coming in to swell our numbers ; and some who are now with us are postponing their withdrawal, supposing that the contemplated change will soon take place."

They added : "Only one pew has changed owners during the year, and that was sold to a gentleman already a proprietor ; and several have been given up." Some preliminary action was accordingly taken with a view to the sale of the land in Bedford Street, and the purchase of another site on the Back Bay. But it was not until 1871 that the land in Bedford Street was sold, and not until May, 1873, that the corner-stone of a new church was laid in Boylston Street.

In the summer of 1870 Mrs. Robbins died, after a protracted illness. Her death was a heavy blow to her husband, and he did not soon recover from it. In April of the following year he again went abroad, and spent the summer in England, Scotland, and Wales. Three weeks were passed in London and a fortnight in Edinburgh ; and shorter visits were made to Oxford and to nearly all the cathedral towns. Mr. (now Dr.) Robbins returned home in September greatly benefited in body and mind, and immediately resumed his pastoral duties. Until the completion of the new building the weekly religious services were held in the chapel of the Children's Mission in Tremont Street.

In June, 1874, he was married to Mrs. Sarah Ripley [Fiske] Willard. In the same month he tendered his resignation of the office which he had held through so many checkered years. He was now the oldest settled minister in Boston proper ; and it was natural that he should feel some hesitation as he looked forward to the work of building up an enfeebled society in a new locality.

"I will freely say," he wrote, "that it is my preference to resign altogether my pastoral office ; not because I am not strongly attached to the Second Church and to the work of the ministry, but because I am well aware that a younger and more popular preacher could

better perform the arduous but animating task of gathering in new elements to enlarge and revive our old church,—a church which, in spite of various changes and shocks, is still strong, harmonious, and spiritually healthy, and offers a most promising field to a devoted servant of Christ. I had formerly intended to offer my resignation at the close of the fortieth year of my ministerial services, but the unsettled condition of your affairs at that period induced me to withhold it. Unless you should consider that such a step would in any way affect unfavorably the interests of the church, it is my wish that you would consent to release me from my official relation.”

By a vote of the proprietors this letter was referred to the Standing Committee; and after conferring with Dr. Robbins, they reported at a meeting held in November, a few days after the dedication of their new house of worship, in favor of accepting the resignation, “to take effect on the 4th of December, the forty-first anniversary of his settlement.” This was accordingly done, and resolutions of warm personal regard for him were adopted. One of the resolutions contains so just an estimate of Dr. Robbins’s labors as a Christian minister that it may well be quoted here:—

“*Resolved*, That while we recall with pleasant memories his serious and instructive public discourses from the sacred desk, yet we specially and gratefully remember his more private walk and conversation, when sickness has visited us, when our homes have been darkened with affliction, when our houses were houses of mourning and we needed the consolations of that Christian faith of which he was the chosen servant and minister.”

Dr. Robbins preached the sermon at the dedication of the new church, and then laid down the work to which he had been so long and so devotedly attached. He did not again appear in the pulpit, except for occasional services at Weston, where he spent the summers during the last years of his life.

In addition to his regular pulpit services, Mr. Robbins held for many years frequent meetings for religious conversation and discourse in private houses; and few clergymen can have been more assiduous in the discharge of their parochial duties. His professional labors, however, were not confined to his own church. In 1834 he was Chaplain of the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1845 Chaplain of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1836 he preached the Artillery Election Sermon. From January, 1837, to April, 1839, he was editor of the “Christian Register”; and during the same years he was one of the Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association. He was also author of three of the tracts

issued by the Association at a later period, beside contributing to other denominational publications. But as he advanced in years his denominational attachments grew weaker, and he became disinclined to join in combined action for the spread of the religious opinions peculiar to any sect. He was, however, an officer of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, of the Massachusetts Evangelical Missionary Society, and of the Society for the Relief of Aged and Infirm Ministers; and from 1862 to 1872 he was President of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. In 1855 he received from Harvard College the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

He never lost his interest in charitable and philanthropic endeavors which were conducted on an unsectarian basis. From an early date he was impressed with the advantages to be gained from the establishment of the Theological Library; he was a warm and steady friend of the Massachusetts Bible Society, an efficient supporter of the Provident Association, and one of the founders of the Children's Hospital, in 1869, and a manager of it to his death. Of the duties of a citizen he was not unmindful, though he was not always in sympathy with the tendency of political opinions around him.

Dr. Robbins was chosen a member of the Historical Society in December, 1845, a member of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1857, and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in November, 1858. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Historical Society from 1854 to 1857, Recording Secretary from 1857 to 1864, and Corresponding Secretary from 1864 to 1877. He was also one of the committee for publishing the Catalogue of the Library, which was issued in 1859, a member of the committees for publishing the second, sixth, seventh, and eighth volumes of the fourth series of the Collections, and the first volume of the fifth series, and a member of the committee for publishing the Proceedings from 1855 to 1864. In February, 1869, he delivered one of the course of lectures, by members of this Society, before the Lowell Institute, on "The Early History of Massachusetts." His subject was "The Regicides sheltered in New England"; and he treated it with great thoroughness and with a sound and discriminating judgment. To the second volume of the fourth series of the Collections he contributed a memoir of the late Rev. Alexander Young, D.D., and to the Proceedings a memoir of William Appleton, in February, 1863, of William Brigham, in April, 1874, of Benjamin R. Curtis, in January, 1878, and of the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, in September, 1880; and he had promised



Charles Robbins.

to write a memoir of David Sears, but he was prevented by the failure of his eyesight from fulfilling this design. He also made frequent communications on matters of historical interest, beside taking part in the informal discussions at the meetings of the Society; and no one could have discharged with a more scrupulous fidelity the duties of the various offices which he held.

Apart from his services as an officer of the Society, his most important work for us was as chairman of the committee for publishing the Mather Papers. This was emphatically a labor of love. Sixteen years before, he had written, in his "History of the Second Church," that the character of Increase Mather "has been more than once misrepresented; and, I grieve to say, by some in our own day, whose accustomed integrity and fairness only render their severe judgment in this instance more remarkable and more injurious. Indeed, such confidence had I been taught to repose in the accuracy and justice of their historical views and statements that I had myself prejudged the case against this venerable predecessor, and supposed the judgment to be fully authorized, before I had occasion to search more carefully, as I have recently done, the authorities in the case for myself. From this research I have come away profoundly impressed with the worth and piety of this 'patriarch of New England,' and irresistibly moved to do, as well as I may be able, the duty that devolves upon me, in this place and on this occasion, of vindicating his memory from unjust aspersions, and holding up for your respect and love a true image of his virtues." It was in this spirit that Dr. Robbins took upon himself the chief labor in the publication of the Mather Papers. He felt that great injustice had been done to both Increase and Cotton Mather; and though only about one-sixth of the volume consists of letters from them, he no doubt felt that those letters and the letters addressed to the Mathers would do much to correct what he regarded as erroneous views. Great pains was taken to secure the accurate printing of the letters and other documents, and every necessary illustration in the way of footnotes was added. This is not the place for any discussion of the question how far Dr. Robbins was right in his estimate of the Mathers; but it will be readily admitted that he approached the investigation with entire candor and fairness, and that his labors have thrown much light on matters about which there will probably never be an entire agreement among competent judges.

Dr. Robbins's historical labors were mainly in connection with the work of this Society; but at the closing of the old

meeting-house in Hanover Street, in 1844, he preached two carefully prepared and interesting historical discourses, which were printed at the time, and were afterward republished as a part of his "History of the Second Church." That volume was issued in 1852, and was an expansion of two discourses delivered on the two hundred and first anniversary of the formation of the church. It exhibits the same careful research which marked all of Dr. Robbins's historical labors, and shows how strong was his attachment to the religious organization of which he had then been minister for nearly twenty years. There is something deeply pathetic in his references to the loss of the new church edifice in Hanover Street. Referring to the prosperous condition of the society in the old building, he says: —

"But all this prosperity, which seemed to us so secure, soon vanished like a delightful dream, and left us, homeless and broken, to the sad and almost hopeless task of re-collecting a dismembered society, constructing a new parish out of the wrecks of the old, and finding, if possible, some humble place, with nothing of the dignity or sacredness of a church, to shelter us in the season of our devotions."

About two-thirds of the History is devoted to the pastorates of the two Mathers, and the narrative is brought down to the reunion of the church and the proprietors in the Freeman Place Chapel.

Beside writing the "History of the Second Church" Dr. Robbins edited the miscellaneous works of one of the most justly loved and honored of his predecessors, Henry Ware, Jr., which were published in four volumes in 1846 and 1847; and he also prepared a hymn book and a service book, which were published in 1854, and adopted for use in the Second Church. He was himself a hymn-writer of no small merit; and one of his hymns has found its way into many collections. It is the familiar hymn beginning

"Lo! the day of rest declineth."

He was not a frequent contributor to periodical literature. For the "North American Review" he wrote nothing; and to the "Christian Examiner" he contributed, beside a number of shorter notices, only three articles, — reviews of the discourses by the Rev. George W. Briggs, in March, 1846; the sermons of the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., in September, 1852; and the memoir of Mary L. Ware, in May, 1853. Outside of the line of strictly professional duties Dr. Robbins was not a prolific writer.

In 1870 he met with a severe accident which finally resulted in an almost total loss of sight. Writing, in November, 1877, to the secretary of his college class, he thus refers to it: —

“ You ask about my loss of sight. A sharp blow upon the middle of the right eyebrow in 1870, against the corner of an open door, in the dark, affected the optic nerve so as to cause a semi-obscuration of vision. Gradually the obscuration became almost total. About two years ago the nerve of the other eye began to lose its vitality, and now I am almost blind. I cannot read or write, cannot see a flower or tree, the smile of a friend or the sweet faces of my infant boys. But I have no right to complain, and do not complain. I have seen many beautiful things — the faces of friends most beautiful of all — during my life-journey. And their pictures are safely stored in the memory. To review them is a perpetual joy.”

It was under these circumstances that he dictated to an amanuensis, the memoirs of Judge Curtis and Mr. Sears to which reference has been made. No word of repining was heard, and there was the same cheerful, warm-hearted greeting to the friends whom he knew only by their voices. Almost to the last he regularly attended the meetings of this Society.

During the last year of his life his strength visibly failed, but he was able to go to his summer home at Weston. There, after a short illness, he died on the 11th of September, 1882. On the following Thursday, — the day on which the Society resumed its meetings after the summer vacation, — his funeral was attended by a large congregation, including many of our own number. It was fit that the last solemn services should be held in the house of worship of the Second Church, to which he was so fondly attached. Those services were conducted by the Rev. Edward A. Horton, one of his successors in the pastorate, the Rev. Edward J. Young, the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D., minister of the First Church, and the Rev. J. H. Morison, D.D., who gave a singularly felicitous and appropriate address. A few weeks later, on the last night of the year, a memorial discourse was preached in the Second Church by the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., one of his associates in this Society and in many other relations, who had known him almost from boyhood.

In any estimate of the character and services of Dr. Robbins the first place must be given to his fidelity as a pastor. His sermons were remarkably elevated in tone and finished in style, and were delivered in an agreeable and impressive manner; but in his personal relations with his people lay the

secret of his great influence with them. His cordial manners, his quick sympathy at all times, his readiness to enter into their joys and sorrows, won and held their hearts. He went among them as a near friend, a member of their own households. It is this taking up of the various experiences of others into his own daily experience which is, no doubt, the most trying part of a minister's life; but to Dr. Robbins it was natural. Probably no man was ever more faithful and devoted to the people of his charge; and a conscientious performance of every duty of the pastoral office was perhaps his highest aim. It is not surprising, therefore, that his preaching was addressed especially to the affections; for it sprang from a genial and sympathetic nature which was quick to respond to the griefs, the struggles, and the aspirations of others.

The qualities which made him so exceptionally faithful and beloved as a pastor were also exhibited in the wider relations of life. His associates here can bear witness to his unfailing courtesy and his thoughtfulness for others. His friendships were confined by no denominational lines. "Perhaps no man out of the ranks of their own immediate affiliations," said Dr. Henry M. Dexter, at the meeting of this Society in September, 1882, "will be more sincerely mourned by that portion of the Congregational ministry still substantially retaining their ancient faith, than Chandler Robbins." But he had strong convictions; and on more than one occasion during his ministry he exhibited the same firmness and steadiness of purpose which he showed as a young man in college.

In all his opinions the tendency of his mind was conservative, and he distrusted the effects of many of the more recent speculations in philosophy and religion; but he probably never drifted far, if he drifted at all, from the theological opinions he adopted early in life. He was, for several years before his death, a member of a Ministers' Club composed of clergymen of various denominations.

As a writer he had the easy command of a dignified, polished, and graceful style; and if his tastes had led him to engage in purely literary pursuits, he would have quickly won distinction outside of the line of his profession. In his historical researches he was laborious and careful to overlook nothing which could throw light on the subject he was investigating. But his work in this department was necessarily fragmentary; and if we except his "History of the Second Church," his reputation in it will rest wholly on what he did as a member or an officer of the Historical Society.

By his first marriage Dr. Robbins had one son and six daughters, and by his second marriage three sons.

The following list of his publications, except articles in periodicals, is as complete as it is now possible to make it:—

- A Tribute to the Memory of departed Infants. A Sermon, preached to the Second Church, on Sunday, Oct. 11, 1835. Boston, 1836. 8°, pp. 14.
- A Sermon preached before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, on their One Hundred and Ninety-eighth Anniversary, June 6, 1836. Boston, 1836. 8°, pp. 24.
- A Pebble against the Tide. A Sermon, preached to the Second Church, on Sunday, Nov. 6, 1836. Boston, 1836. 8°, pp. 21.
- The Same.* Second Edition. Boston, 1837. 12°, pp. 16.
- A Feature of the Times. A Sermon, preached at the Second Church in Boston, in November last. Boston, 1840. 8°, pp. 15.
- A Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at the Second Church in Boston, on Nov. 26, 1840. Boston, 1840. 8°, pp. 15.
- The Same*, with "A Feature of the Times." Boston, 1840. 8°, pp. 15, 15.
- A Sermon, preached in the Second Church, Boston, on Sunday, March 12, 1843, on the Death of Rev. John Simpkins, late Pastor of the Congregational Church in Brewster, Mass. [With Appendix.] Boston, 1843. 8°, pp. 20.
- A Discourse, preached before the Second Church and Society in Boston in commemoration of the Life and Character of their former Pastor, Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D.D., on Sunday, Oct. 1, 1843. Boston, 1843. 8°, pp. 71.
- The Same.* Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston, 1843. 12°, pp. 38.
- Two Sermons, delivered before the Second Church and Society, Sunday, March 10, 1844, on the Occasion of taking down their Ancient Place of Worship. [With Appendix.] Boston, 1844. 8°, pp. 76.
- Address delivered at the Laying of the Corner-Stone of the Second Church, on Thursday Morning, May 30, 1844. Boston, 1844. 8°, pp. 10.
- The Missionary Enterprise. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston, 1844. 12°, pp. 16.
- A Sermon delivered before the Proprietors of the Second Church, Wednesday, Sept. 17, 1845, at the Dedication of their New House of Worship. [With Appendix.] Boston, 1845. 8°, pp. 40.
- Our Pastors' Offering. A Compilation from the Pastors of the Second Church. For the Ladies' Fair to assist in Furnishing the New Church Edifice. Boston, 1845. 16°, pp. 128.
- A Sermon preached at the Installation of Rev. A. M. Bridge, as Colleague Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Bernards-ton, Mass., Feb. 18, 1846. Together with the Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People. Boston, 1846. 8°, pp. 42.
- The Works of Henry Ware, Jr., D.D. Boston, 1846, 1847. 4 Vols. 8°, pp. 370, 412, 444, 445.
- The Mother's Law. A Token of Respect to the New England Mothers of the Last Century. A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the Mother of the late Judge Story. Boston, 1847. 8°, pp. 16.
- The Closet. Printed for the American Unitarian Association. Boston, 1848. 12°, pp. 18.

- A Sermon preached after the Death of Mrs. Eliza Frothingham and Mrs. Cornelia F. Wolcott, Mother and Daughter, the latter of whom died June 1, and the former June 5, 1850. Boston, 1850. 8°, pp. 31.
- A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston, to which is added a History of the New Brick Church. With Engravings. Published by a Committee of the Society. Boston, 1852. 8°, pp. 320.
- Hymn Book for Christian Worship. Boston, 1854. 12°, pp. 537.
- A Liturgy for the Use of a Christian Church. Boston, 1854. 12°, pp. 110.
- A Sermon preached after the Funeral of Noah Lincoln, who died in Boston, July 31, 1856, aged eighty-four. With Genealogical and Biographical Notes. Boston, 1856. 8°, pp. 49.
- A Discourse, in commemoration of Rev. William Parsons Lunt, D.D., delivered at Quincy, Mass., on Sunday, June 7, 1857. Also the last Sermon preached by Mr. Lunt, Dec. 28, 1856. [With Appendix.] Boston, 1857. 8°, pp. 71.
- Character of Ephraim Peabody. [From the "Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal," for January, 1857.] Cambridge, 1857. 8°, pp. 12.
- Light in the Sepulchre. An Easter Sermon. [From the "Monthly Religious Magazine and Independent Journal," for June, 1858.] Cambridge, 1858. 8°, pp. 15.
- The Central Power of the Gospel. A Sermon preached at the Installation of Rev. Grindall Reynolds, as Pastor of the First Church in Concord, Mass., July 8, 1858. With Charge, Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the Society. Boston, 1858. 8°, pp. 57.
- A Sermon preached on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination as Pastor of the Second Church in Boston, Mass., Sunday, Dec. 5, 1858. [With Appendix.] Printed in compliance with a Vote of the Parish. Boston, 1858. 8°, pp. 47.
- Portrait of a Christian, drawn from Life. A Memoir of Maria Elizabeth Clapp. Boston, 1858. 16°, pp. 135.
- Force of Right Purpose, the Criterion of True Manhood and the First Principles of Success. A Sermon, preached at the Thursday Lecture, Nov. 24, 1859. Boston, 1859. 16°, pp. 33.
- Memoir of Hon. William Appleton. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. [With Appendix.] Boston, 1863. 8°, pp. 64.
- The Same*, in "Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1862-63, pp. 430-469.
- Prayer in the Name of Christ. A Sermon preached at the Second Church in Boston, Sunday, April 17, 1864. Reprinted as published by Request in the "Monthly Religious Magazine." Boston, 1864. 8°, pp. 12.
- A Tribute to the Memory of Mrs. Mary M. Davis. Printed for Private Distribution. Boston, 1866. 16°, pp. 14.
- The Regicides sheltered in New England. A Lecture of a Course by Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, delivered before the Lowell Institute, Feb. 5, 1869. Boston, 1869. 8°, pp. 36.
- The Same*, in the volume of Lowell Lectures, pp. 321-354.
- Sermon preached after the Death of Cornelia F. Fiske, by her Father, and before the Removal of the Second Church, Sunday, March 10, 1872. Boston, 1872. 8°, pp. 24.
- The Strong Consolation. A Sermon preached after the Death of Benjamin R. Gilbert, Feb. 9, 1873. With an Appendix containing brief Notices of Mr. Gilbert and of Captain Thomas M. Sweet. Privately printed. Boston, 1873. 8°, pp. 24.

A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Second Church, Boylston Street, Nov. 4, 1874. Boston, 1875. 8°, pp. 25.

A Sermon in commemoration of Rev. Edmund Hamilton Sears, preached at Weston, Mass., on Sunday, Jan. 23, 1876. Also, the last Sermon written, but not preached, by Mr. Sears, and a Christmas Song, the last of his Lyrical Pieces. Boston, 1876. 8°, pp. 30.

Memoir of the Hon. Benjamin Robbins Curtis, LL.D. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, 1878. 8°, pp. 26.

The Same, in "Proceedings," 1878, pp. 16-35.

Memoir of Rev. Edmund Hamilton Sears, D.D. [No title-page.] 8°, pp. 16.

The Same, in "Proceedings," 1880-81, pp. 224-239.